

FABIAN QUARTERLY

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EDITORIAL

G B S

If this issue of the *Quarterly* had appeared in July, we could have been more topical in joining the universal tribute that was then paid to the best known of all Fabians on the birthday of Bernard Shaw. As it was, the birthday tribute *G B S*—90 contained contributions from several distinguished Fabians, including Joad, Emil Davies, and of course Shaw's great contemporary, Lord Passfield. As our own special birthday wish, we express the hope that we may continue to receive the pungent Shaw postcards of advice that still arrive occasionally at 11, Dartmouth Street.

THE SOCIETY'S CHAIRMAN

The country as a whole, and this Society in particular, are now emerging from the period of shaking down which immediately followed the war. For our part, both the Executive Committee and the staff have undergone changes. The most notable of these has, of course, resulted from Professor G. D. H. Cole's decision to resign the office of Chairman of the Society. Professor Cole's output of energy on behalf of the socialist movement and of this Society has been prodigal, and, now that he feels impelled to curtail his commitments, we should like to record our very real sense of gratitude to him.

Professor Harold Laski has accepted the invitation of the Executive Committee to become the Society's new Chairman. It would be difficult to think of any other successor to G. D. H. Cole of equal distinction both in the academic world and in the sphere of national and international politics.

KEEPING IN TOUCH

We should like in future to allot at least one page of the *Quarterly* to suggestions and comments from members on the Society's work. We shall welcome correspondence of this kind, in particular about the summary of the Society's research work in hand which is being distributed with this issue of the *Quarterly*. Final responsibility, of course, for subjects and personnel chosen for research, rests with the Executive Committee. It should be unnecessary, in these days of notorious paper shortage, to add that, if remarks are to be printed, they must be brief.

THE SECOND SIX MONTHS

by H. D. Hughes, M.P.

The completion of the first year of Labour Government finds a good slice of *Let us Face the Future* on the statute book, though time will be needed to translate legislation into administrative results, and there is a heavy programme of work piling up for subsequent Parliamentary sessions. 74 Bills introduced by 24 June must be a Parliamentary record, and the complaint of the Opposition is not of any lack of legislative energy but that too much has been done in too short a time.

HARD FACTS

Considering the difficulties, the economic background is an encouraging one. The June issue of the *Monthly Digest of Statistics* showed that in ten months the Armed Forces had fallen from approximately 5 million to 2½ million and the numbers working on military equipment and supplies from 3·8 million to less than a million, with every expectation that the target of 1·2 million in the Forces and 500,000 supplying them at the end of the year would be reached. This enormous changeover was effected with a maximum of 375,000 unemployed, though in April there were some 840,000 still on demobilisation leave. The volume index of exports registered 84% of 1938 for the first quarter of the year compared with 32·9% in the comparable period of 1945. Supplies of many goods for the home civilian market were increasing rapidly and in some cases (electric fires and irons, prams, etc.) were well ahead of 1935, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out, this was by far the best safeguard against inflation. By the end of May, the housing programme was getting into its stride and new housing accommodation had been provided for 164,000 families, nearly 9,000 of whom were in new permanent houses while over 89,000 new permanent houses were under construction, 57,000 of them by local authorities. The chief economic difficulties facing the Government remain the world food shortage, and the failure of coal production to outstrip consumption to the extent necessary to build up reasonable stocks for the winter and contribute to the export trade. Unscrupulous propaganda in the Press and elsewhere sought to make the most of the beer shortage and bread rationing, but the overall picture was remarkably good.

NATIONALISATION

The great legislative measures of the period fall naturally into two groups, concerned respectively with industrial and financial reorganisation, and with social reform. The Coal Industry Nationalisation Bill was one even the Opposition found difficult to oppose in principle, but the Civil Aviation Bill, the permanent closure of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange, and the announcement of the impending nationalisation of Iron and Steel, showed the Government to be in real earnest in pressing on with socialist measures. Cables and Wireless were added at the request of the Dominions and Dalton followed up the Bank of England Act with his Borrowing (Control and Guarantees) measure, a limited instalment of control of large-scale investment.

Parliamentary discussion of Coal and Civil Aviation raised many important points of nationalisation technique. Were the compensation proposals too

generous? What should be the relationship between the Ministers and the Coal Board and the three Airways Corporations? Should there be three Corporations? Should there be an Advisory Council, or an executive Air Transport Board? What type of personnel were required to man these new bodies—representatives of particular interests or individuals working as a team or in charge of particular departments? Should they be full-time or part-time? Were the people selected the best available? Were they to be paid salaries on commercial or Civil Service levels? What should be the method of presenting the accounts? On all these matters there is a wealth of argument available in the Parliamentary and Committee Reports. The Ministers, faced with the task of building the first socialised administration of key industries on a national scale, were naturally anxious not to be tied by statute more than was necessary, but to reserve reasonable freedom and flexibility to experiment. Quite different patterns of public administration are therefore beginning to emerge. On the one hand a full-time Coal Board with an ex-Controller General of the Ministry in the chair and a distinguished ex-civil servant as Vice-Chairman, backed up by a scientist, a chartered accountant, a mining engineer, two trade union leaders and two colliery managers, each with their specialist function to perform. On the other hand the three Civil Aviation Corporations, engaged in what the Parliamentary Secretary engagingly described as 'socialist emulation', having (as at present constituted) a mixture of full and part-time directors. There is much to be said for trying different methods and not binding Ministers' hands by statute at this stage.

The Government's statement that legislation would be prepared to introduce 'a large measure of public ownership' of the iron and steel industry, pending which a Control Board would be responsible for general control and supervision under the Minister of Supply, provoked the keenest nationalisation debate of the session. Lyttleton and Duncan were forced into a formulation of the Tory policy for heavy industry—State supervision and control of powerfully integrated monopoly and cartel.

"Our ideas on this side of the House are that a great basic industry like iron and steel should be organised as a national industry. It should be able to speak with one voice to foreign producers of steel and should aim at preventing runaway prices in times of boom and slashed prices in the time of slump. Its prices, the nature and extent of any arrangement into which it may enter with foreign Governments or producers and, in general terms, the location of new plants, must be the subject of discussion and approval by the Government or under Government control." (Oliver Lyttleton, Hansard, 27 May, 1946.) Much of the £168 million needed for reorganisation, too, would be expected to come from Government sources. So much for the doctrine of free enterprise and the little man!

There was perhaps some similarity between this policy and that advocated in the published report of the Working Parties on Cotton and the Pottery Industry. The reservations of the employers and some independent members on the Cotton Party to all the more sweeping proposals for amalgamation and grouping, for the immobilisation of redundant plant, a re-equipment levy and board, and the statement of the Pottery Working Party that "the industry was not wholly satisfactory, but can set itself on its feet without intervention by the Government in the operation of free competition" showed the limited results that can be hoped for from this type of body.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Two great measures of social reform, the National Insurance Bill and the National Health Bill, were with difficulty passed through all their Parlia-

mentary stages during the session. Both marked a considerable advance on the measures contemplated in the White Papers of the Coalition Government. Afraid to oppose outright the new basic rate of 26/- for sickness, unemployment and retirement pension, the Opposition damned with faint praise, hinted darkly at the level of contribution required and the effect on the national finances, and launched into a fierce struggle for the inclusion of the friendly societies in the administration of the new insurance scheme. Much credit is due to Jim Griffiths for standing firm on what he believed to be the right basis for a unified organisation.

"What people want under this new administration is one place, accessible to their home, to which they can go for guidance, for help with their claims whatever they may be—claims for sickness, injury and widowhood, old-age or death. By our scheme, we propose to establish a network of local offices. I want to make these offices worthy of the great task which lies before them, great community centres to which people can go."

Here was a real vision of the socialist administration of the future and the spirit of public service that it must contain.

The undercurrent of opposition to the Insurance Bill came out into the open on the Health Bill. The Government were accused of regimenting the hospitals and confiscating their funds, of weakening the whole structure of English local government, of interfering with the age-old relationship between doctor and patient. On the other hand, many socialists disliked the retention of private and public patients side by side and the provision for pay-beds in the hospitals. The proposed scheme seems well designed to achieve the fundamental reorganisation of the health services without driving too many specialists outside to private nursing homes, thus causing a repetition of the duality which still exists in our educational system.

In education, one silent administrative socialist reform must not be overlooked. Over ten times the amount of Exchequer money provided for scholarships and maintenance allowances in 1938 is to be spent in 1946. The financial difficulties of mounting the educational ladder in the past have now been swept away, and the bottleneck is now the limitation of places in our Universities and institutions of further education. The Barlow Report provides for the doubling of the size of the Universities over the next ten years and the authorities are now at work considering how it shall be implemented.

THE BUDGET

The first normal Budget of a socialist Chancellor with a firm majority almost achieved the impossible in pleasing taxpayer, social reformer and City man alike. Industrial incentive was provided for by the abolition of E P T and the increase in personal allowances, earned income and married women's allowances. Purchase tax came off a variety of household articles. Estate Duty scales became more progressive, a modest socialist reform which provoked the Leader of the Opposition to an amazing defence of inequality of inheritance.

£21 millions more for education, £19 millions more for housing, £38 millions for family allowances, £14 millions more for old age and widow's pensions, £20 millions for increased service pay and allowances, £10 millions for the development areas. £335 millions in cost of living subsidies—a heavy but well justified outlay to prevent an inflationary spiral. £50 millions for an imaginative Land Fund which has already acquired Lake Bala for the nation. Excluding terminal items on both sides, the Chancellor was able to claim that in 1946/7 we should be paying 18/2 out of every £1 of expenditure from revenue.

MINOR MEASURES

A number of smaller but none the less important measures also stand out from the session's work. The Acquisition of Land (Authorisation Procedure) Act gave local authorities the powers they needed for obtaining speedy possession of land for urgent public purposes without waiting for the completion of the purchase. The Housing (Financial and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act laid down generous rates of subsidy of £16 10s. 0d. from the Exchequer and £5 10s. 0d. from the rates with special additions for flats or expensive sites, etc. The New Towns Bill provided for Development Corporations to create new centres of population in place of the uncontrolled overspill of the inter-war years. The Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act restored trade union legislation to the position in which it stood prior to the vindictive penal measure of 1927. New rates of pay and conditions of service in the Armed Forces brought them for the first time on to a level comparable with civilian occupations, and a start was made to consolidate the democratic and educational innovations of the war. Army recruiting posters announcing that all officers, except for a few specialists, will be recruited from the ranks, mark the change of atmosphere since 1939.

One major measure only of those forecast in the King's Speech—the bill to deal with compensation and betterment—has been referred to a subsequent session. The first majority Socialist Government has shown magnificently that it is fit to govern and is true to its electoral promises. Legislation must now be followed by administrative achievement.

THE CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS COUNCIL

by Sinclair Road

The Cinematograph Films Council is a body consisting of film trade and independent members on which the Board of Trade is supposed to rely for information and advice about the film industry in general. It was set up under the 1938 Cinematograph Films Act which is due to expire in just over a year's time. It would seem, therefore, an appropriate time to examine briefly the work of the Films Council and its suitability as a body to cope with the present problems of the British film industry.

The history of official interest in the film industry goes back to 1925 when a request was made in the House of Lords for the setting up of a Departmental Committee to enquire into the causes of the depression which had settled over the production branch of the British industry, as a result of the rapidly increasing domination of Hollywood. The request was not met; the Government of the day stating that it wished the trade to agree on voluntary schemes for improvement. Various proposals were put forward to limit the harmful effect of such practices as "blind" and "block" booking by which American renters retained their hold over British exhibitors and for a quota system to assist the recovery of British production. But the industry failed completely to agree the appropriate voluntary measures to be taken, and in 1927 the first Cinematograph Films Act was introduced. It dealt with the more harmful booking practices and instituted a rising quota for British films. An Advisory Committee of 13 was constituted to assist the Board of Trade in the administration of the Act, which was to run for 10 years. The Act had certain beneficial effects, but it left a number of loop-holes; it permitted, for example, the appearance of the notorious "quota quickies" which brought so much discredit on the British industry.

In 1936 a small Committee of Enquiry was appointed under the late Lord Moyne to make recommendations for a new Act. The Committee did a great deal of useful work and made a number of valuable recommendations. Two things stood out: the emphasis which the Committee put on the cultural and educational importance of the film, and their realisation of the need for an effective administering authority if the needs of this influential industry were to be met effectively.

Its report began by repeating a statement made by the Imperial Conference of 1926 that "the cinema is not merely a form of entertainment, but, in addition, a powerful instrument of education in the widest sense of the term": and further claimed for the film that "its potentialities in shaping the ideas of the very large numbers to whom it appeals are almost unlimited."

It was these considerations, together with the need for making really effective provisions to build up a strong British production industry, that led them to make a number of far-reaching proposals culminating in the recommendation for an independent Films Commission with positive functions.

"The Commission should, in addition to exercising its normal administrative functions and acting as a tribunal to give impartial judgments on matters dividing the film industry, have powers of initiative and control. For all these purposes it is clear to us that any body which is not entirely independent of any trade connections would be quite unsatisfactory and that, accordingly, absolute independence from professional or any other pecuniary connection with any branch of the film industry is essential in all the members of the proposed Commission."

In many ways this proposal was the key to the whole body of recommendations put forward. Nevertheless, it was rejected in this form in the framing of the new Act, despite strong feeling in its favour in the House. Instead the 1938 Cinematograph Films Act established the Cinematograph Films Council. Although it was conceived on a slightly wider scale than the Advisory Committee which it succeeded and which had been described in the debate on the new Bill as "an absolute farce", the new Council was in fact yet another Advisory body with no powers of initiative and with mixed trade and independent representation.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Cinematograph Films Council was given the following main terms of reference:

"to keep under review the progress of the cinematograph film industry in Great Britain, with particular reference to the development of that branch of the said industry which is engaged on the making of films, and to report thereon to the Board of Trade at such times as the Council thinks fit,

"to advise the Board in any matter relating to the cinematograph film industry in which the advice of the Council is sought by the Board."

The Council is also charged with certain specific duties under the Act. It has to be consulted before any changes are made in the quota arrangements and it advises on any action to be taken against distributors or exhibitors who have failed to acquire or show the statutory quota of British films.

The Council is appointed by the Board of Trade and is constituted as follows:—

11 independent members, one being the Chairman,

2 members representing film producers, 2 representing film distributors.

4 representing exhibitors and 2 representing employees. All the members are unpaid.

There are certain points to note in its composition. It consists 50 per cent. of interested parties in the industry; these trade members, although appointed as individuals, inevitably represent important groups or interests. Furthermore, although the Act is designed to promote British production, there are only two producers' representatives as against four exhibitors, for no other apparent reason than the fact that exhibition is financially the most powerful and established branch of the industry. An examination of the people who have been appointed in subsequent years as trade representatives reveals even more clearly the apparent desire of the Board of Trade to use the Council merely as a sounding board for the more important interests. Even an American has occupied a seat on the Council, usually among the distributors' representatives, although the Act was designed to encourage British production.

The independent members have been chosen "as representatives of wide national interests, including education, finance, law, literature, Parliament and the general public". Lord Citrine has been a member since the Council's

inception, also Professor Arnold Plant; Philip Guedalla was a member up to the time of his death.¹

The Council's Annual Reports give a picture of the scope and intensity of the work which has been undertaken. It is of little interest here to go into the routine tasks performed under the Act in relation to the viewing of films, quota-defaults, etc. More interesting are the Council's activities within the broader terms of "reviewing the progress of the cinematograph film industry in Great Britain, . . . and reporting thereon to the Board of Trade".

The first Annual Report outlines the consideration given to the possibility of establishing an apprenticeship scheme in the industry in fulfilment of an assurance given at the time the 1938 Act was passed that this matter would be referred to the Council for immediate examination. A recognised scheme has been badly needed in the film industry to ensure adequate conditions for the new entrant and reasonable standards of training. In the past the only section on the production side of the industry with an agreed system of training has been the documentary section: in the feature studios there has been no general agreement. The Films Council duly took evidence, but despite the evident need for such a scheme concluded as follows: "while impressed by the importance of the subject, we decided to refrain from pronouncing premature judgment on its inherent merits in the belief that existing conditions in the industry did not justify an attempt to devise an apprenticeship scheme for immediate application. We made a report to the Board of Trade in this sense and stated that we proposed to reserve the matter for more mature consideration at a later day, in the hope that before long the progress of British film production would provide the opportunity for more positive advice".

The industry still awaits this more mature consideration. No apprenticeship scheme has yet been introduced, despite the activities of the Association of Cine-Technicians, the union representing technicians on the production side.

A further lack noted by the Council is the absence of detailed statistics from the industry, which "is not only a lacuna in our equipment, but prevents the industry as a whole from knowing where it stands". The Council therefore appointed a Committee on Statistics during its first year of office. In its second year it reported as follows: "It is to be regretted that in the present circumstances it has not been possible to make any progress. We do not, however, consider this question as closed, and our hope is that at some time when more favourable conditions allow it may be taken up again with a more satisfactory result". For statistics about the size and distribution of cinema attendance, the country's film production capacity, etc., one must still rely

¹ The present members of the Council are:—

Independents:

The Earl of Drogheda
The Lady Apsley
Lord Citrine, K.B.E.
Professor B. Ifor Evans
Mr W. E. Williams*

Producers:

Sir Alexander Korda
Mr. J. A. Rank
Renters:
Major R. P. Baker
Mr J. Friedman

(*Has just resigned, successor to be appointed.)

Mr. Albert Palache
Professor Arnold Plant
Mr W. Quinn, J.P.
Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare, Bart
Dr Stephen Taylor, M.P.

Exhibitors:

Mr E. J. Hinge
Sir Alexander King, C.B.E.
Mr C. P. Metcalfe
Sir P. Warter

Labour:

Mr G. H. Elvin
Mr. T. O'Brien, M.P.

therefore on the one statistical study produced in this country in 1934,¹ and on the various uncollected statements or inspired guesses that are made from time to time. It is worth noting that the Motion Picture Division of the U.S. Department of Commerce makes a regular collection of statistics relating to the production and exhibition of films throughout the world, issuing a bi-weekly bulletin of information. The lack of any equivalent service in this country will inevitably make it doubly difficult for the British industry to make a concerted drive to increase the overseas distribution of British films. It is not even possible on the figures at present available to relate production capacity to the demand for films in the home market with any accuracy.

Again, the third Annual Report of the Council mentions discussions on the short film industry. Two Council members made various proposals to improve the quality and status of the British short film such as the introduction of minimum labour costs (which the 1938 Act imposes on long films), minimum hiring rates, and the establishment of special distribution machinery for the rapid showing of films regarded by the Government as of urgent national importance. But once more the Council "felt unable to recommend any action which would be certain of improving the prospects of short film producers".

At other times the Council had more positive observations to make. In 1942 great concern was expressed at the continued decline in British production; the Council repeatedly drew the Board of Trade's attention to the need for some positive action to prevent the industry from declining beyond the point from which it could reasonably recover. The Board of Trade did not, however, share "the gloomy and, indeed, alarming view of the situation taken by the Council". A further resolution in the following year called on the Government to survey film production, Government and Commercial, with a view to establishing an effective organisation of the resources of the industry as a whole.

THE MONOPOLY REPORT

But the Council's most obvious achievement was the preparation of the Report on *Tendencies to Monopoly in the Cinematograph Film Industry* in 1944. This report was instigated by the one independent feature producer on the Council who was concerned at the increasing difficulties facing the independent producer, in terms of studio-space, production finance, and effective distribution. The report was the work of a sub-Committee comprising three of the independent members of the Council, Lord Citrine, Mr. A. Palache and Professor Arnold Plant. The result is a well-documented and comprehensive statement of the present position of the British film industry; its evidence is conclusive and its main recommendations both necessary and practical. It describes the growth of the main film combines, the Rank Organisation and the Warner A B C group, and demonstrates the almost complete control which they exercise over the available studio-space, the main sources of finance and the three major circuits, A B C, Gaumont-British and Odeon. The main proposals put forward to safeguard independent production and to allow the healthy development of the industry are: Legislation preventing further expansion of the three major circuits; a trustee arrangement (such as that operated in the case of *The Times*) to prevent control of the industry passing into foreign hands or those of undesirable groups of persons; fair allocation by the Board of Trade to the independent producers of studio-space and screen-time in the circuits; the setting up of a Government film finance corporation and a strong British overseas distribution organisation.

¹ S. Rowson. "A Statistical Study of the Cinema Industry in Great Britain in 1934." 1936.

The report was issued in July 1944 and presented to the Board of Trade. The Board's reaction was at first sight peculiar; its first and only immediate move was to re-organise the Council when the members' period of office expired in August, and to replace the two producers' representatives—the independent producer who instigated the report and the representative of the short film producers—by Mr. J. A. Rank with whose activities and organisation the Monopoly Report was primarily concerned and by Sir Alexander Korda at that time representing a new British production subsidiary of the American company Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. This move on the part of the Board of Trade would appear to be a further example of its determination to use the Council primarily as a sounding board for the most powerful interests in the industry.

As for the recommendations put forward in the Monopoly Report they were to all appearances ignored. To repeated questions in the House about the action which the Government intended to take, a series of evasive answers were given. It was not until almost two years later that the first positive action was taken. In March 1946 the President of the Board of Trade announced his intention of setting up a Board to arrange circuit distribution for selected independent films, the three main circuits having undertaken to make space available for the purpose. The slowness with which this decision is being implemented is, however, unfortunate; four months have elapsed since the initial announcement and there is so far no sign of any Board.

Leaving aside the fundamental issues involved, the treatment accorded to the Monopoly Report would appear to be a further instance of the unsuitability of the Council as a body to give the energetic guidance and direction which the film industry urgently needs. The fact, too, that in order to give effect to the proposals contained in the Report the Government will have to appoint further bodies such as the distribution Board for independent films, would suggest that the problems in the industry are now clearly beyond the scope of an advisory council. It is difficult to say what would have happened had the Moyne Committee's proposal in 1936 for a small independent Film Commission with powers of initiative and control been accepted. It would certainly have been in a better position than the Council to ensure that some action was taken to regulate the healthy development of the industry.

In practice, during the Council's period of office the trend towards monopoly has become more and more marked; the American Company Warner Brothers has been allowed to increase its holdings in the A B C group to the extent of now being able to exercise joint control. These developments were allowed to pass almost unchecked. When the Council finally produced its Monopoly Report drawing somewhat belated attention to what had taken place, the position had become far more complicated. Little need be said of how the Council deliberated with so little effect on such matters as an apprenticeship scheme, the absence of reliable statistics, the fate of the short film industry, etc.

Most of its weaknesses are obvious. Because it is an advisory body and nothing more, the Board of Trade has never been forced to act on its advice. The mixed trade and independent representation has been a further impediment. Trade representatives have inevitably had their special interests and particular grievances to air, while the independent members could not always be expected to be fully informed about all the problems of the industry. Today it is even more clear than it was when the Moyne Committee made its recommendations ten years ago, that the problems of the industry are clearly beyond the power of an Advisory Council, and that an authority is required with real powers of initiative and control. The power of the film as a medium and the influence it exerts through the public cinemas alone are such that the fate of the film industry cannot be left to chance deliberations.

Fabian Collective Membership

by N. Barou, Ph.D. (Econ.) London

I

The advent of a Labour Government with a working majority signifies the beginning of the transition period from a capitalist to a new Britain based on a planned economy and democratic socialism. The victory has been long overdue, as the social composition of the population in the country has been very suitable for a Labour policy: among every 100 occupied persons 69 were manual workers, 25 non-manual workers and only 6 capitalists or "people working on their own account". The fact that, notwithstanding such a social structure, the country had a Conservative Government during almost the whole of the inter-wars period shows that the Labour movement had not made full use of its opportunities and that its organisation, propaganda and education require considerable improvement and adjustment.

Labour is not deficient in numbers: taking into consideration the dual or even triple membership (labour, trade union and co-operative) there still remain without duplication a minimum of 10-11 million individual members, thus showing that Labour has probably a foothold in 85% of all families in Britain.

When we turn from individual membership to local labour organisations the picture becomes less definite, as there is no summarised information about the total number of trade union branches and trade Councils: a map showing the number and distribution of labour organisations all over the country is long overdue. Our information is as follows: 625 divisional and 2,500 local labour parties, 500 trade councils, 972 registered trade unions and 1,064 co-operative societies with 580 educational committees—a total of 5,661 units. In addition there must be between 45,000 and 50,000 Trade Union branches.¹

DIFFICULTIES OF THE TRANSITION

It is no use imagining that the transition period will be short or easy, or that the Labour movement is well prepared to face it. Classical labour theory and literature of all shades has devoted much time and attention to the criticism of capitalism and its shortcomings; it has been less definite about the organisation of socialist society and too often it has remained silent or very indefinite about the transition from one to the other.

Consequently, Labour did not make full allowance for the complexity of the problems that the transition to Socialism implied and was ill prepared to cope with them. It now has to carry on the current work of government in a difficult reconversion period while at the same time framing the strategy and forging the weapons for the transition.

Obviously Parliament cannot, simply by its action at Westminster, regulate down to the last detail the complicated problems of modern society, the forms of industrial relations and so forth. Nor should it try. Its role is to determine in law their main scope and level, leaving to those affected by them in their

¹ The P.E.P. (see Planning N249 10 v.1946) estimates that 32 National Unions had before the war 12,500 branches. The Transport and General Workers Union has about 4,000 branches; the National Union of Railwaymen about 1,700, NUDAW—1,350, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers—1,270, Iron and Steel Confederation—650, and the A.E.U. nearly 2,300.

daily lives the maximum freedom in making the necessary adjustments. It is precisely here that the other sides of the Labour movement come into play, primarily through the Trade Unions and the Co-operatives, but also through other voluntary functional bodies.

With the utmost support from such bodies, however, Labour will have to reckon during the transition with a serious obstacle in the type of competitive acquisitive mentality that capitalism breeds. Further, governments have so long been defending unearned privilege and opposing the workers' fight for justice that they have engendered among the masses, whether or not politically minded, a fixed "agin the government" attitude and rendered authority suspect. That habit of mind does not quickly change. Millions of voters for Labour, and still more of its opponents, are products of capitalism with its low standards of nutrition and health, of education and recreation, with its insecurity and fear and its acquisitive aims; it is because of this that monetary remuneration will remain for a long time the great incentive to work.

That situation, so far from discouraging, should be welcomed as a challenge. The Labour Party, the Trade Unions, the Cooperative Societies and their coordinating National Council of Labour never had a better moment to consider the necessary adaptation and redistribution between themselves of tasks and responsibilities which, cooperatively undertaken, can hasten the coming of Socialism. Study of the machinery of government, indeed local participation in it, need no longer be something theoretical or for the few. Political democracy can be extended throughout the economic and social fields by the mass organisations of the people acting as producers and consumers or engaged in education and recreation. Today, as never before, Labour Britain should have a government and a legislature working on consistent avowed principles and taking the electorate into its confidence ahead in the shaping of things to come. What it is planning at Westminster can be carried at the planning stage by its ancillary organisations in the country to the home and the workshop. They can indeed initiate democratic planning, encourage voluntary organisation and local initiative in every sphere of public life and use, with the help of their educational organisations, the instruments the government now offers in order to weaken the hold of the capitalist inheritance on the minds of the people. A more virile social consciousness can pervade the body politic and social, and a Socialist Britain, whose foundations the pioneers so well and truly laid, can become, sooner than the surrounding world situation suggests, a vanguard of labour democracy.

The Fabian Society can play an important part during the transition period, because the characteristic features of the Fabian method and tradition are intellectual initiative, fearless fact-finding and the scientific interpretation of facts. The demand for Fabian activities must increase because Fabianism will be an important ally in combatting complacency and bureaucracy in dealing with the new problems of planned economy and regionalisation, and in preparing personnel able to cope successfully with them.

This is why the Fabian Society must develop its organisation in such a way, so as to embrace not only intellectuals and propagandists, but also open its doors to the thousands of men and women who are responsible for the work of the local labour organisations and through them to the membership of those organisations. A vigorous drive for collective membership would be therefore a step in the right direction.

COLLECTIVE MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

Until recently (1945) the Fabian Society had a very small affiliated collective membership, numbering 127 paying units, only 78 divisional and local Labour parties, 25 trade unions, 19 cooperative societies, and 5 miscellaneous organisa-

tions. Of these collective members 38 (out of 127) were situated in the same localities as 21 (out of 97) of our local societies, and one local society (Bristol) had in its area 4 collective members, four societies have 3 and five societies have 2.

The explanation usually given of the small number of collective members is that in the past the National Fabian Society could offer them one inducement only—its publications. This was apparently not sufficient to attract collective membership, especially as during the last 20 years the society has published very little literature dealing with trade unions and cooperative societies.

It seems that with the change of the political scene and with the rapidly increasing number of Fabian Local Societies the position must improve. Nationally we can offer collective members something in the way of supplies of publications, the right to attend lectures, conferences and schools, advice on available books, pamphlets, speakers' notes, etc. We can offer them also the formation of special voluntary research groups amongst our members for investigating subjects in which the given organisation is specially interested, if such subjects are of wider social importance. Locally, Fabian Societies, especially the stronger and active ones, can offer considerable assistance to Labour Parties, to Educational Committees of Co-operative Societies, to local trade union branches and Trade Councils. They should be able to supply good personnel and help for educational and propaganda activities and for research work on problems of local interest.

It is evident that the interests of the local branches of all Labour organisations have widened during the war years, and the existence of a Labour government will further encourage this process. The feeling of increased industrial and collective responsibility and the rapid influx of new members which is the pre-condition of success in Labour politics will induce the local labour organisations to broaden very considerably their educational activities and to make more use of the local Fabian Societies and their intellectual forces. With the repeal of the Trade Disputes Act, Trade Union Political funds should be in a healthy state and the branches of Civil Service Unions should be in the position to link up with the Fabian Society again. The new educational drive of the Labour Party, the Trade Union and Cooperative Movements means that the services Fabians can provide will be in increasing demand.

There is, therefore, a wide field for a collective membership campaign which has been delayed for too long, and should be undertaken, on an appropriate scale, by the National and Local Societies.

There must be, however, a division of Labour between them in such a campaign. The appropriate bodies to affiliate nationally would appear to be City, Borough or Divisional Labour Parties, National Trade Unions, Trade Councils and Cooperative Educational Committees and a direct approach should be made to them by the National Executive.

All other organisations should be tackled locally. The main hope of success is for the local Fabian societies to organise a series of activities likely to interest the prospective collective members, especially trade unions branches. Delegate conferences on industrial and economic questions are the most likely form of approach—especially if reports will be issued about the proceedings of the Conference and speakers' notes of the subject discussed.

All local organisations—local labour parties and ward committees, trade union branches, local cooperative parties, men's and women's guilds—should be offered literature and the provision of speakers and discussion group lecturers.

There seems no need to emphasise the importance of the campaign as a means of enhancing the Society's educational influence and its financial strength. It must be clear, however, that a campaign on these lines will only succeed if locally as well as nationally the Fabian Society attempts to serve the needs of the wider Labour movement.

For a National Wages Policy

by "Industrial Economist"

One of the oddest paradoxes of the day has arisen from the controversy on a nationally co-ordinated wages policy. The Labour and Trade Union movement presumably favours the new economy of Socialism with its basic ideas of planning and co-ordination; while the proponents of Capitalism are generally believed to prefer private enterprise and the haggling of the market. But on the application of their ideas to Labour both sides have performed a complete "volte face". One finds Trade Union leaders declaiming the merits of that aspect of market haggling known as "collective bargaining", with the Minister of Labour accommodatingly extolling "this traditional and well-tried system"; while the Employers and Conservatives, abhorring Socialism, want it applied to industrial relations rather than their usual panaceas of decontrol and free enterprise.

Actually on both sides there is a growing volume of second thoughts. Amongst Conservatives and Capitalists there is a feeling that Transport House bosses are a lesser evil than doctrinaire Socialists in Parliament. The Government would evidently take the thing far too seriously. It would in fact get to know more than was good for it! On the Socialist side, there are those who are seriously perturbed at this marshy No-Man's-Land lying right on the line of march towards a Socialist Economy. An attempt to plan the direction and momentum of a Social Democratic economy, while refusing to face up to the problems of wage-rates and labour priorities, looks dangerously like a house which was built upon the sands.

It is regrettable that some of the Trade Union leaders should have given the appearance of opposing the supersession of Collective Bargaining because it might reduce the functions of the Unions and hence the loyalty and size of their membership.

The problem if it is really to be faced has a long term aspect and a short term aspect. In the long run, as Keynes said, we are all dead (and that goes for the present Trade Union leadership as much as for the mere consumer). However, we cannot entirely be content to ignore the long term because it must inevitably grow out of the present, and our short term remedies must be assessed for their long term effects.

The short term problem is this—with the removal of the Essential Work Orders, etc., the problem becomes more intense, not less as some Trade Union leaders are suggesting. The next four years are the crucial ones both for the Government and for the Nation. In that brief space the national economy must not only get back to normal, but must overtake its arrears and must vastly extend its export trade so as to maintain our previously high standard of living and to help refit the war-ravaged countries of the world. On top of all this is the immense programme of social betterment and trans-migration, on which Labour fought and won the election, and on which its governing will largely be judged.

HIGH PRIORITY INDUSTRIES

The Government, in endeavouring to attract labour into those industries which are of the highest priority, has urged certain wage increases and improvements in working conditions in the selected industries, e.g., docks, mines,

FOR A NATIONAL WAGES POLICY

building, cotton. The immediate response has been a whole gamut of wage applications in other industries, thus partly nullifying the Government's manifest intention.

At present the broad arguments used to sponsor the current wage applications are (i) wage rates have never hitherto been sufficient, (ii) the workers have borne a heavy burden during the war and want to see some reward, (iii) the rank and file membership are agitating for far greater increases and will kick over the traces if something is not given, (iv) the Government are giving the lead to private industry in making wage advances, and if private enterprise wants to keep its labour force it had better do something about its rates too.

The last argument is the most relevant here. Looked at in terms of figures—if the Government secures increases of 4d. per hour in building, 3d. per hour on an average in cotton and similar figures in coal, docks and brickworks, it does it to attract labour and to retain existing manpower. What then is to happen if the great majority of other industries immediately receive applications for 3d. on an average, with demands for shorter hours, longer holidays, etc., thrown in and find that offers of less than 2d. per hour will not be entertained?

Either the Government must push up its rates further still or see its priorities nullified. In either case it seems imperative that the Government should enter into consultations with the Trade Unions and Employers to put into effect a common policy so as to avoid on the one hand an inflationary spiral, and on the other the loss of initiative by the Government in the whole national economy. That is precisely where a wages policy comes in, though so far the Government has not envisaged more than a General Economic Staff with no powers in this particular direction.

ATTITUDE OF THE T.U.C.

Hitherto one has had the impression that the T.U. leadership has not sufficiently thought the thing out, especially in its relation to the transition to Socialism.¹ The "T U C Statement of Policy on Problems of Production", March 1946, states (p. 11): "As regards the distribution of workpeople amongst the various industries and services the alternative to freely negotiated collective agreements is not the imposition on industry of a wages policy, but the compulsory direction of labour. The T U C cannot contemplate the continuation of the directions to workpeople under penalty of fine or imprisonment as a means of relieving the Government and other sections of the community of the temporary shortages and difficulties which are a necessary feature of a period of transition". In fact a Hobson's choice which is admitted to be no horse at all!

The Trade Union movement has increased responsibilities today with a Socialist Government in power and its old negative restrictive defences are no longer adequate to its role. It must prepare to share in the responsibility of running a Socialist economy (despite anything the A F of L might have to say to the contrary!). Given this, and the Government's determination to peg the cost of living, the way is open for the Government, Trade Unions, and Employers to agree on a short-list of priority industries and trades, and to apply a priority rating factor to serve as a yardstick by which to determine relative wage rates, recruiting urgency, production facilities and incentives.

Thus for a limited period general wages should be firmly stabilised, any general improvements in the economic situation being greeted by price and

¹ Perhaps characteristically, the Scottish T.U.C. has faced the problem with greater courage and has called for a T.U.C. Sub-Committee to investigate the need for a national wages policy as a basic pre-requisite of Socialist planning.

income tax reductions. The priority industries should be given fairly considerable wage enhancements—up to say 25%. Part of such increases is required to cover the relative disadvantage of those present-day priority industries which were “non-essential” during the war, and which were therefore left behind in the wage increases of that period. For instance the weekly average building earnings are still below the national male average : 111/4 against 121/4, and are far below such wartime priority industries as Chemicals and Metals (122/10 and 133/- respectively)—April Digest of Statistics. About 10% of the suggested 25% would be required to make up this leeway. In addition (say) 5% could be allowed throughout the whole structure, to accommodate sectional variations to be dealt with through traditional collective bargaining as they developed subsequently.

It is general knowledge that high earnings with little to spend them on except Income Tax and Savings can be extremely frustrating. It is essential, therefore, that the impress of Government priorities should be borne in by other appeals in addition to that of a flat time-rate increase. A clearly declared policy on wages, with unequivocal agreement by the three interests chiefly concerned (Government—T U—Employers) as to the priority industries, would add an imaginative appeal which the Government has attempted too nebulously in its campaign for production.

The unions should be doing all in their power in the meantime to boost production as far as the attitude of mind of their members is concerned. Perhaps it is part of wartime-neurosis, perhaps partly it is complacency springing from unexpected political power, but whatever the reasons a certain lack of concern, lack of “will to work”, is noticeable in the work-places of this country. The need for a “courtesy” campaign in transport and distribution is evidence of the same malaise. Such a union campaign can be carried on both in the factories and the localities. The wartime innovation of Joint Production Committees should be revived and extended, and the Unions should be bending their utmost energies to this end. They are an ideal forum for the three parties (Government, T U, Employer) to meet together right down the scale to the smallest workshops. Out of the discussions on these bodies can arise an immense wealth of experience to be gathered into a really democratic synthesis of model practice, far less fettered by deference to those traditional attitudes and prejudices so usually a feature of collective bargaining.

SOME SUGGESTIONS

For instance, the Government might discover such a popular appeal for priority dockets and rations for the priority workers (theirs are mostly arduous and unpleasant trades) that they might be willing to have second thoughts and to think up such imaginative alternatives as: assisted family holidays, harvesting as a summer recess from mining, or metal fabrication as a winter recess from building. Employers might find many an answer to production and organisational problems filed in the archives of the central department dealing with Joint Production Committees; and this would be particularly apposite since the priority industries have tended to be backwardly organised and equipped, depending on brute force and craft to keep them going. The workers too would see how they stood against nationally determined production norms. They could get a much more detailed idea of the general run of equipment and system on their own type of work, which would enable them to set about getting improvements in output if they found they were lagging behind. The real contribution to production of such systems as Payment-by-Results, Job Evaluation, Time and Motion Study, Double-day

Shift Working, etc., would thus truly emerge at the centre, and would no longer be the subject of suspicion, prejudice, misapplication and abuse.

If it is part of our Socialist aspiration to raise materially the relative portion of the nation's wealth going to the workers as opposed to that going to capital, etc., it is suggested that the route lies much more along these new paths than along the well trodden paths of collective bargaining. Dr. Barna has sought to show elsewhere that the workers' portion of the national product has remained constant over the years at 40%, and a similar calculation, from opposed premises, by Dr. Willford King of New York has shown a similar uniformity at 47%. These results, by no means glorious, have been achieved by the traditional and well tried system of collective bargaining. It is because it has proved so "very trying" that the alternative of socialist planning is advocated.

Advocates of a national wages policy have often been accused of criticising collective bargaining without offering anything concrete by way of amendment or alternative. It is hoped that there is sufficient offered here to meet such objections without falling into the even more heinous crime of going too fast and earning the label of "crypto-Communist", or for that matter of "crypto-Taylorist"! One realizes the immense pride which every Trade Union official takes in the highly intricate and imposing structure of "collective bargaining," which his movement has built up over the past century. Such an achievement cannot, and should not, be lightly brushed aside. But it must inevitably develop with the times. The transition to Socialism is fundamental to the nature of our economy. Equally fundamental developments must be sought in the role and method of collective bargaining on the threshold of Socialism. What has been achieved cannot be destroyed by continual advance. It can be by stagnation.

BILLS INTRODUCED BETWEEN 30th APRIL and 23rd JULY, 1946

<i>Title</i>	<i>Date of Introduction</i>	<i>Progress</i>
Atomic Energy	15.46	
Superannuation	13.5.46	
Ministerial Salaries	22.5.46	Assent 6.6.46
Isle of Man (Customs) (No. 2)	18.7.46	

PRINCIPAL WHITE PAPERS PUBLISHED 23rd APRIL to 23rd JULY, 1946

<i>Title</i>	<i>Date of Issue</i>	<i>Cmd. No.</i>	<i>Price</i>
Agreement between United Kingdom and Eire relating to Air Services.. .. .	April	6793	1d
Second Interim Report of the New Town Committee.. .. .	April	6794	6d
Agreement between United Kingdom and U S A concerning the Interchange of Patent Rights and Information. 27.3.46	April	6795	2d
Government Control of Railways—Estimates of Receipts, Expenses and Net Revenue for year ended 31.12.45	April	6797	1d
International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Inaugural Meeting	April	6800	2d
New Towns Bill. Memorandum by Minister of Town and Country Planning showing Application and Modification of Town and Country Planning Oct. 1944	April	6801	9d
New Towns Bill. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Scotland	April	6804	9d
Cable & Wireless, Ltd. Proposed Transfer to Public Ownership	April	6805	2d
Housing Return for Scotland. 31.3.46	April	6806	3d
Housing Return for England and Wales. 31.3.46	April	6807	4d
Report of Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the Problem of European Jewry and Palestine	April	6808	1/3
Monthly Digest of Statistics No. 3. March 1946. Central Statistical Office	April	—	2/6
Election Expenses. Return of Expenses of each Candidate at General Election of July, 1945	April	—	2/-
Central Institute of Management. Report of Committee appointed by Board of Trade to formulate proposals for setting up a Central Institute for all questions connected with Management	April	—	3d
Atomic Energy. Report on International Control of Atomic Energy by a Board of Consultants for the Secretary of State's Committee. Reprint of U S A Government publication	April	—	1/-
The Serviceman's Resettlement. Notes for the guidance of all concerned with management	April	—	2d
Technical Education. Report of a special Committee of Advisory Council on Education in Scotland	May	6786	2/-
France. Agreement supplementary to the Anglo-French Financial Agreement of 27.3.45. London 29.4.46	May	6809	2d
Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Remuneration of General Practitioners	May	6810	6d
Iron and Steel Industry. Reports by British Iron and Steel Federation and Joint Iron Council to Minister of Supply	May	6811	1/6
Report of the Allied Mission to observe the Greek Elections. 10.4.46	May	6812	6d

<i>Title</i>	<i>Date of Issue</i>	<i>Cmd. No.</i>	<i>Price</i>
Joint Memorandum and Agreement between U K and U S A regarding settlement for Lend-Lease, Reciprocal Aid, Surplus War Property and Claims. 27.3.46	May	6813	9d
Coal Mining Industry Quarterly Statistical Statement of the costs of production, proceeds and profits for the third quarter of 1944 and 1945	May	6814	3d
U N R R A Resolutions adopted by the Council at its 4th session	May	6815	3d
National Radium Trust and Radium Commission. 16th Annual Report. 1944-45	May	6817	1/3
Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons for the years 1939-41.. ..	May	6820	3/-
India. Statement by Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy	May	6821	2d
Exchange of Notes between U K and U S A regarding Constitution of a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry into Problems of European Jewry and Palestine	May	6822	1d
Agreement between Governments of Canada, Newfoundland and U K respecting Defence Installations in Newfoundland	May	6823	1d
Scientific Man-Power. Report of a Committee appointed by the Lord President of the Council	May	6824	6d
Housing Return for England and Wales. 30.4.46 ..	May	6825	4d
Housing Return for Scotland. 30.4.46	May	6826	3d
Report of Committee on Functions of National Gallery and Tate Gallery, and in respect of Paintings, of the Victoria and Albert Museum	May	6827	6d
International Labour Conference. 15th Oct.-5th Nov. 1945. Report by Delegates of H M Government	May	6828	1/-
India (Cabinet Mission). Correspondence and Documents between Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy and Representatives of Congress and the Muslim League. May 1946	May	6829	4d
Coal Mining Industrial Quarterly Statistical Statements of the costs and production, proceeds and profits for the fourth quarter of 1944 and 1945	May	6830	3d
Call-up to the Forces in 1947 and 1948	May	6831	1d
Strength and Casualties of the Armed Forces and Auxiliary Forces of the U K. 1939 to 1945 ..	June	6832	2d
Report of the Committee on the Scottish Lunacy and Mental Deficiency Laws.. .. .	June	6834	2/-
India (Cabinet Mission) Statement by the Mission dated 25.5.46 in reply to Pronouncements by the Indian Parties, and Memorandum by the Mission on States Treaties and Paramountcy	June	6835	2d
Report of the British Legal Mission to Greece 17.1.46	June	6838	9d
Trusteeship Territories in Africa under United Kingdom Mandate. Presented to Parliament by Secretary of State for the Colonies.. .. .	June	6840	2d
Convention between U K and Belgium for the Promotion of Mutual Understanding of Intellectual, Artistic and Scientific Activities. 17.4.46 ..	June	6841	2d
German, Italian and Japanese U-Boat Casualties during the War. Particulars of Destruction ..	June	6843	6d
Housing Return for Scotland 31.5.46	July	6844	3d
Housing Return for England and Wales 31.5.46 ..	July	6845	4d
Notes between U K and U S A extending the Marine Transportation and Litigation Agreement of 4.12.42	June	6847	1d
Agreement between U K and Argentine for Air Services between their Respective Territories. 17.5.46 ..	June	6848	2d

<i>Title</i>	<i>Date of Issue</i>	<i>Cmd. No.</i>	<i>Price</i>
Newfoundland. Report of the Financial and Economic Position	July	6849	9d
New Towns Bill. Memorandum by Secretary of State for Scotland setting out the Provisions of the Bill (as amended Standing Committee) as it applies to Scotland	July	6850	6d
Coal Mining Industry. Annual Statistical Statement of costs of production and profits for 1945 ..	July	6851	2d
Broadcasting Policy	July	6852	6d
Documents Constituting Agreements between U K and Portugal concerning Facilities in the Azores ..	July	6854	2d
U K—Dominion Wool Disposals Ltd (Joint Organisation). Presented by President of Board of Trade to Parliament	July	6855	9d
Ministry of National Insurance. Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Alternative Remedies	July	6860	1/3
India. Cabinet Mission. Correspondence with the Congress Party and the Muslim League. 20th May–29th June, 1946	July	6861	6d
India (Cabinet Mission). Papers relating to (a) the Sikhs, (b) The Indian States, (c) The European Community. May–June 1946	July	6862	2d
Trusteeship. Togoland and the Cameroons under U K Mandate	July	6863	1d
Agreement between U K and Poland for Settlement of Outstanding Financial Questions. 24.6.46 ..	July	6864	1d
War-Time Tank Production. Reports by the Select Committee on National Expenditure and the replies to these Reports by the Government of the day	July	6865	1/-
New Towns Bill. Memorandum by Secretary of State for Scotland setting out the Provisions of the Bill (as brought from the Commons) as it applies to Scotland	July	6867	3d
Social and Economic Research. Committee Report	July	6868	3d
Monthly Digest of Statistics. No. 4. April 1946. Central Statistical Office	May	—	2/6
Nutrition in the British West Indies	May	—	9d
The Cotton Spinning Industry. Report of a Commission set up to review the Wages Arrangements and Methods of Organisation and to make Recommendations	May	—	4d
Organisation of the Colonial Service	May	—	2d
Post-War Training for the Colonial Service. Committee Report	May	—	9d
Return of Schemes made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940 in the period 1st April 1945 to 21st March, 1946	June	—	6d
Cotton Working Party. Report	June	—	3/6
Monthly Digest of Statistics. No. 5. May 1946. Central Statistical Office	June	—	2/6
Monthly Digest of Statistics. No. 6. June 1946. Central Statistical Office	July	—	2/6
Atomic Bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Effects of. Report of British Mission to Japan ..	July	—	1/-
Conference for the Establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Nov. 1945	July	—	4/-
Trade of the U K with British and Foreign Countries. Annual Statement 1944 compared with 1940–43 ..	July	—	22/6
Textile Mission to Japan. Jan.–March 1946. Report	July	—	6d

IN AND AROUND NUMBER ELEVEN

LOCAL SOCIETIES AND SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE

We are glad to reprint the following message which was received from the Rt Hon Herbert Morrison, M P, the Lord President of the Council. This was sent to all members taking part in the postal ballot for the Election of the Executive.

"I have noted with interest the large increase in the active membership of Local Fabian Societies, of which I understand there are now over one hundred in the United Kingdom. I am very glad to see that the specialist work of the Fabian Society is expanding in this way. I hope, of course, that every member of a Local Society will also become an individual member of the Labour Party, even though the majority of Local Society members are covered by their Society's affiliation. The responsibilities placed upon the Movement, both nationally and locally, as the result of electoral victories, make it incumbent that the essential work of research and socialist education shall be increased. This work must be done in a competent manner. I send you this personal appeal to extend and redouble your efforts in the days ahead so that the great work of the Labour Government in Westminster, and on Local Authorities, shall be supported by an informed public opinion."

CHAIRMAN OF THE LOCAL SOCIETIES COMMITTEE

The following note from Arthur Skeffington, M P, appeared in the June issue of the directive:—

The recent stunt campaign by the Kemsley, Beaverbrook and Rothermere press in connection with bread rationing has raised the point of Government publicity and reply. Suggestions have been made that Dartmouth Street as well as Transport House should prepare immediate answers. Clearly with the staff available, this is not possible; and even if it were the time lag between a stunt and circulation of information would be too long. This is, however, a matter on which Local Fabian Societies should be able to offer the movement great assistance. Most Societies have members who are quite capable of preparing answers to this propaganda. It can be done in several ways. Facts can be quickly duplicated or printed, as "hand-outs" for members and supporters of the movement. In connection with bread rationing the Labour Agent from the Clitheroe Division reprinted 5,000 copies of a *Manchester Guardian* editorial, entitled "A Case Made Out". Letters to the local press are often useful, and critical letters—especially those which are mainly malicious—should be answered. Articles and facts can also be inserted in local Fabian journals and in Party newspapers. Obviously, the methods must differ in each area, but this is vital work, in which Local Societies might well take the lead.

In a recent meeting report to the Local Societies Committee, Margaret Cole said this:—

..... "There was a moan about inadequate publicity by Government, etc. I told them they were perfectly capable of preparing answers to Beaverbrook propaganda themselves and they'd better get on with it. Fabians have no business to be intellectual defeatists."

This should be our motto.

CONFERENCES:

Reference was made in the last *Quarterly* to a series of conferences on "Political Development and the Work of Local Fabian Societies". During the past three months the following conferences have been held:—

1. At Surrey Crest, nr Godstone, on March 23rd–24th, which was attended by representatives of 25 Local Societies.
2. At Tong Hall, nr Bradford, on May 11th–12th, attended by representatives of 14 Local Societies.
3. At Dollar Beg, Dollar, arranged by the Scottish Societies and attended by representatives of six Scottish Societies.
4. At Avoncroft Hostel, Bromsgrove, on May 18th–19th, organised by the West Midlands Regional Committee.
5. A successful rally was held at Ashford on June 22nd, organised by the combined Ashford, Canterbury and Maidstone Societies.
6. At the instance of the Warrington Society, a day Conference of delegates from Local Societies in Lancashire and Cheshire was held in Warrington on 1st June, at which representatives from ten Societies attended.
7. A Day Conference was also held on 13th April under the auspices of the Northern Region.

DEVELOPMENT FUND. A development fund has been established to assist in the formation of New Societies. Conveners in the past have had to raise the cost required to meet initial expenses, and often these have not been reclaimed. This has been a serious hardship in many cases and one which we wish to avoid.

We are very glad to announce that the Sheffield Society have given £5, Central London £5, and Mr F. W. Galton, formerly General Secretary of the Society, has contributed one guinea. We have also to announce the receipt of a donation of one guinea from Mr J. Kinley, M P for Bootle. Members who are particularly interested in this work are invited to contribute.

SPEAKERS: A panel of Speakers, serving the United Kingdom, who are prepared to visit Local Societies and other organisations is being compiled. It is hoped that the panel will be ready for circulation in the autumn. Speakers who can help are invited to communicate with Mrs. Fox.

HOME RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

A new Home Research Secretary has recently been appointed to fill the position which has been vacant for some time.

The Department will now try to give full attention to individual queries, for which the Assistant Research Secretary, who has been carrying a double load, had inadequate time.

There is a full programme of research work in hand, but special consideration will shortly be given to selecting subjects which are likely to become major issues of Labour policy in the next few years.

FILMS. The work of gathering material from the Exhibitors' returns to the Board of Trade has now been completed and a statistical analysis is being prepared. This is to be supplemented by the results which we hope to obtain from a Questionnaire on Films which has been circulated to Local Societies. The article in this issue on the Cinematograph Films Council by Sinclair Road arose out of discussions by this Group.

ARTS AND AMENITIES. A Group has recently been formed with the following terms of reference: "To consider what improvements should be made by a Socialist Government in providing facilities to render the arts more

easily available to the public and enrich the cultural life of the community". In its initial stages this group will concentrate on the complex legislation which governs the powers of Local Authorities in this respect and hopes to formulate proposals to make it simpler and speedier.

CIVIL SERVICE. A very active Group is at present working on the Reform of the Civil Service. Further information concerning this Group will be available in the next issue of the *Quarterly*.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU

The Bureau very much regrets the resignation of its Secretary, Mrs Bamford. Her services, however, will not be entirely lost to it, as she continues to work as a member of its Advisory Committee. Meantime the Bureau is continuing to function under the Assistant Secretary, Anne Roy.

Two very successful meetings have been held recently. In May the Bureau arranged a reception for the delegates attending the International Conference held by the Labour Party at Clacton. In the chair was Lord Faringdon, Douglas Cole spoke on the work of the Fabian Society, and delegates from the various countries represented answered questions put to them by the audience.

On the 20th June Ernest Davies spoke at a small but well attended meeting held in P.E.P. He gave the impressions he had formed during a recent visit to Czechoslovakia. The discussion which followed was both lively and instructive.

Two pamphlets were also produced during this period. *European Transport—The Way to Unity* by M. Zwalf, appeared in May, while *The World Parliament of Labour* (A study of the I.L.O.) by R. J. P. Mortished, appeared at the beginning of July.

The Bureau has also continued to produce memoranda on various subjects of current interest, and has submitted these to members of the International Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The most recent of these memoranda were *A Policy for the Ruhr*, *The B.B.C.'s Foreign Language Broadcasts* and *The World Food Situation*.

COLONIAL BUREAU

'EMPIRE'. *Empire*, the journal of the Bureau, is now appearing as a regular monthly publication, in a new and more attractive form. The subscription rates have been increased from 3/- to 6/- a year, and the circulation is mounting satisfactorily.

DEPUTATION ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA. In May a deputation on behalf of the Bureau was received by Lord Addison, Dominions Secretary, to discuss colour bar legislation in Southern Rhodesia. The deputation was led by Lord Faringdon, and included Margaret Wrong, Olive Cruchley, Lady Noel-Buxton, M.P., George Thomas, M.P., R. Sorensen, M.P., F. Skinnard, M.P., Dr. Arthur Lewis, Bosworth Monck, Marjorie Nicholson and Rita Hinden. Lord Addison pointed to the difficulties in disallowing legislation passed by the Rhodesian Parliament, and asked the Bureau to present a full statement in writing. This has been done and a memorandum on Britain's responsibilities regarding discriminatory laws has been sent to the Dominions Office, accompanied by two notes, the first suggesting amendments to the Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, and the second discussing the position of Southern Rhodesia in regard to I.L.O. Conventions. The deputation received publicity in a number of newspapers, and has aroused much discussion—some of it acrimonious—in Southern Rhodesia.

CHIEF TSHEKEDI OF BECHUANALAND. From cables received we learnt that Tshekedi, paramount chief of Bechuanaland, was being refused a priority passage to London, to put his views to the Dominions Office on the question of South Africa's claims to incorporate South West Africa in the Union. As South West Africa is adjacent to Bechuanaland, and as South Africa has at times also claimed to incorporate Bechuanaland and the other Protectorates, it was felt that Tshekedi should have every right to come here, particularly as the matter is being put before U.N.O. in September. The Bureau took up the matter with the Dominions Office. In spite of some heated correspondence, no satisfaction was gained, and the issue was then taken up in the House of Commons, where four questions were asked. The unsatisfactory nature of the replies has now led to a request that the matter be raised on the adjournment of the House. Considerable information about this was also given to the press, and support for Tshekedi has appeared in a number of papers.

POSITION IN CYPRUS. Discontent in Cyprus was reported on to the Bureau by friends returning from there. The Bureau wrote to the Colonial Office suggesting certain steps which might be taken, and asking for a removal of the restrictive laws and the introduction of a constitution. A number of M.P.s have raised questions about Cyprus in the House, and it is believed that before long a statement on the future of this country may be made.

PAMPHLETS. A number of publications are now reaching completion. The first of these to be published within a couple of weeks is *Socialists and the Empire* by Rita Hinden, which is a summary of five years' work of the Colonial Bureau, set against the background of socialist philosophy regarding colonial affairs, and linked up with how the work and the thought of this past period are being translated into action under the Labour Government. The next pamphlet, already in draft form, is *The Plan for Malaya*, setting out the background of the present controversies about the future of that country. A third publication which the Bureau is preparing is a study of comparative colonial policies—which will include accounts of colonial policy in French, Dutch, Belgian, Portuguese and American territories. The Bureau is also proposing to produce a new series—a Controversy Series—which will deal with general aspects of the colonial problem, as distinct from the factual research pamphlets. The first of these, which is the report of the successful Clacton conference held last April, is now ready for press.

WOMEN'S GROUP

Since the last issue of the *Quarterly* the Group has held its Annual General Meeting, at which Dr Edith Summerskill, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Food, spoke on "The Work of a Labour Minister". There have also been two Discussion Meetings. At one, Mrs V. Creech Jones, J.P. (Councillor of the Metropolitan Borough of Lambeth) spoke on "The Councillor's Job". The other was a joint meeting with the Social Services Group of the Socialist Medical Association, at which Miss Amy Sayle, M.B.E., initiated a discussion on "Standards and Status of Social Workers".

THE LUTON REPORT¹

by William Warbey, M.P.

If the purpose of physical planning is to design a social pattern appropriate to the satisfaction of certain human needs, then all good planning must begin with a study of those needs in their concrete social setting. Too much of present-day planning tends to skim too lightly over the human factors involved, with the result that the planners, inspired by their unexceptionable general principles, draw up pretty two-dimensional maps and diagrams which remain at the paper stage because they are unrelated to the real substance of actual human living. The Luton Borough Council is to be congratulated on taking the slower but, in the long run, sounder course of finding out what it has to plan *for*, before embarking on the elaboration of a plan. The present Report, therefore, as the Medical Officer of Health says in his Preface, "does not purport to be a plan. On the contrary, it is intended only as a practical guide to planning, and to this end it provides basic data which must be taken into account in the preparation of plans for specific purposes".

Dr Grundy and Mr Richard Titmuss have done an excellent job in investigating, classifying and analysing the basic data for planning. So well have they carried out their task, indeed, that this Report may come to serve as a model for that type of social survey which is designed to serve as the preparatory stage of physical planning. In this respect, as in several others, the Report acquires more than purely local significance. While providing the Luton Borough Council with a concrete conspectus of the community for which it has to plan—and incidentally providing it, too, with valuable data on which to base its present claim for county borough status—the authors have at the same time made a significant contribution to the methodology of social survey work and also to the general discussion of the functions, powers, areas and financial basis of local government authorities.

Much of the material assembled in the Report has been gathered from information already available in the various corporation departments dealing with Health, Education, Finance, etc. To this has been added, however, new material of great significance derived from special surveys of the Population, Housing Conditions and Industry of the Borough. An introductory historical outline reveals the interesting fact that the foundation of Luton's main modern industry—light engineering, with a special emphasis on motor vehicles—was laid as early as the first decade of the present century, that is at a time when the hat industry dwarfed all competitors and seemed destined to remain for an indefinite period the staple trade of the town. Another popular belief—that most of the immigrants who have swelled Luton's population during the past twenty years or so have come from Wales and the North—is controverted by the analysis of the population according to place of birth, which shows that of the 54 per cent. of the population which is not Luton-born, 41 per cent. have come from Bedfordshire or South-East England, including Greater London, and only 13 per cent. from Scotland, Wales or the North of England.

¹ Report on Luton : Prepared for the Luton Borough Council by Fred Grundy, M.D., Medical Officer of Health to the Council, and Richard M. Titmuss, Statistical Adviser to the Council. (Printed by Gibbs, Bamforth & Co. : Paper 12/6, Cloth 4/1 1s. 0d.)

The Population survey assembles useful data on density, age-composition, marriage and fertility rates, migration, social origin, and future population trends. An interesting comparison is made between the age-structure of the population of Luton and that of the country as a whole. This shows that Luton has an excess of the valuable working age-group of 30-45, a slight deficiency in the succeeding group of 15-30, and a considerable excess in the group of 0-15—due, of course, to a very high birth-rate in recent years. Data of this kind are of the greatest importance in estimating both future employment prospects and present and future housing needs.

It is in the section devoted to the Housing Survey, however, that this Report represents real pioneering work. In order to carry out this Survey Mr Titmuss prepared a scientific sampling scheme, with a carefully designed questionnaire and elaborate coding methods to facilitate mechanical tabulation. Owing to shortage of suitable labour a survey of every occupied dwelling was impossible, so it was decided to survey every house in areas of unfit houses, one house in five in the older parts of the town, and one in ten in the rest of the borough. Thus, although the average sample was one in seven, the margin of possible error was least in relation to those districts about which it was most desirable to obtain accurate information.

The results obtained from an analysis of the Survey are set out in the Report in a series of Tables which provide detailed information about such questions as the number of rooms per house, the number of families per house, and the number of persons per room. The important feature of these tables, however, is that they do not merely provide *average* figures, but show in detail how many houses in each of the three districts referred to above contain each number of rooms from 1 to 9+, how many houses contain each number of families from 1 to 5, and so on. In this way a much more accurate and realistic picture is obtained than can be gained, say, from the official Housing Survey of 1936, with its average figures of overcrowding and its breaking down of individuals into decimal points. Thus, although by the standard of the 1935 Housing Act only 435 Luton houses could be officially classified as "overcrowded" in 1945, the present Survey reveals that there were actually 5,876 houses (21 per cent. of the total) containing 2 or more families, and that there were 12,234 families out of a total of 34,818 living two or more to a house. As it is, on the whole, the larger families which tend to live in the smaller houses, the effect of this crowding together of families is felt most of all by the larger families, and it is the children who suffer most from its evil consequences. As the authors of the Report say, "it is apparent from these data that a considerable proportion of Luton children live in houses statutorily overcrowded, and a like proportion, while not legally 'overcrowded', are growing up in unsatisfactory conditions." And this in a Borough where the official standard classifies only 1 per cent. of the families as "overcrowded"!

From this Survey many important conclusions are drawn which will enable the Luton Borough Council to adapt its housing programme to the actual needs of the local population, both present and prospective. It will be possible to calculate with a reasonable degree of accuracy the over-all requirements for the next ten years, the optimum rate of building for each year, and the number of dwellings required in each size-category to meet varying family needs. The people of Luton will thus benefit directly from the work put into the preparation of this Report, but its benefits will spread indirectly over a much wider field if its methods and principles are carefully studied by all who are concerned with the tasks of modern local government.

"Report on Luton" is attractively produced, is illustrated with beautifully executed coloured maps, diagrams and photographs, and is enlivened with social aphorisms of which perhaps the most pregnant is: "Everything happening is experienced by everyone in crowded homes"

BOOK REVIEWS

FUTURE BOOKS: OVERTURE (Leathby Publications 5/-)
FIRST SPRING OF PEACE (Contact Publications 3/6)

Two large volumes, both imitating the American *Life* and *Fortune*. Comparing them, we find: (1) the Contact book is cheaper, contains more reading-matter, less advertisement—and what there is of it much less well-displayed, and mixed up with the text. (2) In technical production, the Leathby book is infinitely superior; it is very easy on the eye. The Contact production is altogether loathsome. Its headlines are a mixture of Victorianism with cinema-trailers; it uses all the worst type-faces; it alternates type which must be read at arms-length with type which can only be read with strong spectacles, and ordinary white paper with pink and blue newsprint daubed with blurry photographs. It cries out for the advice of Sir Francis Meynell. (3) In political slant, there is little to choose; David Mitrany, for example, writes for both. But Future Books is more interesting, easier to follow, and more original; the pictorial story called "A File Marked Secret", and Stephen Taylor's article on Medicine, give much more vivid information than anything in the rival publication. On the other hand, there is heavier, though inconclusive, argument in Sebastian Haffner's huge article on Europe, in the other one.

This comparison leaves unanswered the question to what extent readers can take in their three-dimensional presentation of reading-matter cum photograph cum chart, which must be solved by each reader according to his own predilections. Fabian readers are advised to expend five shillings on the volume which is most fruitfully experimental, and will not outrage their æsthetic sensibilities.

M. I. C.

BACK TO METHUSELAH By Bernard Shaw (World's Classics. Oxford 3/6)

500th volume in the series, this adequately bound pocket edition is most opportune. What Bernard Shaw describes as a metabiological pentateuch of plays rivals in wit and humour his so-called "pot-boilers"—*Pygmalion*, *You Never Can Tell*, and *Fanny's First Play*. The Pentateuch contains in addition a palatable exposition of many of his most stimulating ideas. Expressed on the stage or by the characters in this book, they lead us often to laugh at the absurdity of human convention, and when we suddenly find our own private conceptions ridiculed we are far too thoroughly delighted to laugh on the other side of our faces. The application of Shavian philosophy to the people of the play makes apparent how fundamentally do the ideas with which we are surrounded condition our lives and purposes.

The plays stand on their own feet, but for further elucidation of their philosophy the book provides a weighty preface and also a special postscript, written for this edition. In the latter the author briefly explains his great predecessor's "Hamlet", and to some extent his own "Back to Methuselah". These five plays are just as worthy of attention as "Hamlet", and more adequately provided with their author's explanation.

H. R. P.

INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT By Sir H. Frank Heath and A. L. Hetherington (Faber and Faber xii + 375 pp 25/-)
INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH, 1946 Adv. Ed F. N. da C. Andrade, F R A (Todd Publishing Company 731 pp 21/-)

The first of these books is an expensive but comprehensive account of industrial research in modern Britain. The organisations and procedures of public, associational and private research are all briefly sketched—least adequately in the field of industrial design—but the book suffers from a timidity or avoidance

of qualitative appraisal, and from a too limited conception of the communal setting of its material and its implications. The curious Fabian might well read the book—from his public library.

The second work is a useful guide, replete with addresses, to the major bodies, firms, publications, etc., in the field. I have asked people competent in specialised departments to offer their opinions and they have been favourable. There is a full bibliography and, which is unusual, a list of films. It is, however, not a book to be read, but one of technical reference for the specialist.

D. G. M.

LAW OF TRADE UNIONS By H. Samuels (Stevens & Sons Ltd Second Edition, July 1946 6/-)

This small volume is an indispensable handbook for all active trade unionists. Mr Samuels has succeeded in packing within one hundred pages a concise survey of the law as it concerns trade unions. Especially valuable is the very full list of decided cases and the appendix illustrating the forms which according to the law a registered trade union must use.

B. C. R.

'USURY IN BRITAIN By R. Dallas Brett (St. Botolph Publishing Co. 4/6)

The author, a lawyer, uses the word Usury to mean "the practice of trading in money as a commodity", and his analysis of banking, hire purchase, insurance, building societies and investment is startling. A series of tables showing the composition of the various boards and the ramifications of the various concerns, e.g., "Money-Lending Companies maintained by Insurance Interests," provides much ammunition to critics of Money Power, and leaves no doubt as to who, in the past, were the real government of the country. That the author is not devoid of humour is shown by remarks like: "Debt is probably a more potent cause of human unhappiness than sex, without the compensation that the latter sometimes brings"

A. E. D.

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND FREE TRADE By Michael Polanyi (Cambridge University Press 8/6)

"There exists," writes Professor Polanyi, "and can exist no fundamental alternative to capitalism." The author is an eminent physical chemist, and economists, in this atomic age, may obtain a certain wry gratification in watching a Fellow of the Royal Society go down for the third time in the seas of monetary theory and Keynesian analysis.

A. A

GOVERNMENT AND LABOUR IN EARLY AMERICA By Richard B. Morris (Columbia University Press 45/-)

The author of this illuminating study deserves praise for the obvious mass of detailed investigation into unpublished court records that he undertook to unravel the relations of master and man in the American colonies. He admits to reviewing some 20,000 cases. The results are condensed into less, than 500 pages, of which approximately a quarter are taken up with notes and one cannot but sympathise with Mr Morris's regrets that paper restrictions so limited his output. Nonetheless, the drawing of conclusions from so much detail must baffle the reader no less than it did the author. It is difficult to accept the analogies drawn between the 17th and 20th century conditions. True enough, some of the differences between British and American labour relations can be traced to the contrasting historical backgrounds, but the fundamental cause of the different attitudes to labour organisation lie elsewhere. As a reference book, historical students will find this volume of American research of value.

E. D.

END OF SOCIALISM By Donald Mc. I. Johnson (Christopher Johnson 8/6)

Mr Johnson, an Independent candidate at the General Election, believes that "the Managerial Revolution in its classic 'Russian' form has come to Britain". About Russia he quotes at length from Laski, the Webbs and Cole, with disapproval, and from Burnham and Koestler approvingly. His bibliography shows that he has read some other books about Russia, e.g., "Red Hell, Twenty Years in Soviet Russia." About England, he seems to have read the newspapers, and is convinced that we are going the same way as Russia. He offers us the alternative of a more dynamic private enterprise with a higher sense of morality.

L. P.

SOCIAL**AGRICULTURE IN AN UNSTABLE ECONOMY** By Theodore W. Schultz (McGraw-Hill \$2.75)

Although most of the material is derived from the U.S., this book will interest English Socialists who want to find how guaranteed farm prices work out in practice. The author is probably the most distinguished living American agricultural economist.

F. W.

FRONTIERS IN EDUCATION By George D. Stoddard (O.U.P. 6/-)

In the U.S.A., the writer tells us, education is so taken for granted that what men live for will always be found somewhere in the curriculum. His remarks revolve around (1) the search for a core curriculum, or what everybody should know, and (2) the place of science in a liberal education. The college is the main field of enquiry, but some reference is made to supporting movements in the schools.

B. D.

THE TEACHER ON THE THRESHOLD By E. R. Hamilton (U.I. Press 6/-)

The book is written for intending teachers, and the purpose of the writer is to stimulate thought. H. G. Wells, he reminds us, once said that civilisation is a race between education and catastrophe. We have just missed catastrophe by the skin of our teeth, but the race is still on. This fact, the writer concludes, more than any other consideration, should inspire the young teacher.

B. D.

THE ADVENTURE OF YOUTH By Olive A. Wheeler (U.I. Press 6/-)

This is one of the best books yet written on the education of the adolescent. The writer discards at once any cheap solution of the problem which would reserve a liberal education, if not to the rich, to the clever, or draw a hard and fast line between children of one type or another. Even "intellectuals", she observes, may find their greatest joy during adolescence in some practical occupation or in pursuit of some art or craft. For education is not mere book-learning any more than it is vocational training. It is preparation for the art of living. As seen from this angle, a comprehensive secondary school, with a common core curriculum and variations to meet individual needs, appears to the writer the form of organisation best suited to a democratic society. The book will have a special interest for all those concerned with development plans under the Butler Act.

B. D.

THE NATION'S CHILDREN By Rosalind Chambers and Christine Cockburn (British Association Labour Legislation 9d)

The purpose of the pamphlet is to give a brief factual account of the provision in England and Wales for the health, welfare and education of children. The "credit" side is impressive, but the writers rightly insist that there is still much to be done. In considering the present arrangements, two problems appear repeatedly, but are most prominent in the field of homeless, handicapped and delinquent children. These are: (1) the multiplicity of authorities, resulting in administrative complexity and in some degree of confusion, omission and overlap; and (2) deficiencies of staffing ascribed largely to lack of training and inadequate salaries. The pamphlet makes a useful and timely contribution to the study of children's problems.

B. D.

THE NEW SCHOOL TIE By G. C. T. Giles (Pilot Press 5/-)

An Eton Scholar, a teacher in council secondary schools, ex-President of the NUT and a party to the important discussions on the new Education Act, the writer speaks with exceptional authority on problems of secondary education. "The three-type arrangement—grammar, technical and secondary schools—belongs," he tells us, "to a past in which social and economic distinctions as sharp as the caste system of India were reflected in our schools". The old scholarly conception of education is too narrow for a new and expanding world, while a rapidly changing technique of production demands a widely diffused understanding of the scientific method, an adaptability and initiative, which can only be based on a sound general education. Nor is production everything. Not only does the future open to all a wider outlook of leisure and culture, but the working of democracy itself depends on a highly-educated people. The writer advocates the comprehensive secondary school. Its great merit, he tells us, is its flexibility. Size, for instance, may be varied to suit the district and need not necessarily be very large. The school must develop its own curriculum. He insists only that this must combine a common core of subjects—what every child should be taught—with a variety of choice, widening as the pupil progresses through the School. The book makes a vital contribution to immediate discussions on new development plans.

B. D.

FORTHCOMING DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION Edited by William C. Reavis (CUP 10/6)

The book represents a series of addresses by experienced administrators to the Annual Conference of Administration Officers of Public and Private Schools (1943 and 1944). One of the most interesting chapters is that on the new plan covering education at the primary, secondary and high school, and junior college stages, for the age-groups 6-20. The discussions are not irrelevant to problems in this country arising under the new Education Act.

B. D.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK (OUP 33/6)

These selected papers cover a wide range of subjects from welfare problems in liberated areas, the return of the service-man to family life, social readjustments in the reconversion period, to the development of social services, such as, the integration of health and welfare with city-planning, the unmarried mother, teen-age centres and the juvenile delinquent. The writers speak for the most part from first-hand practical experience.

B. D.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE By Wayne McMillan (CUP 26/-)

"To-day we are faced with the pre-eminent fact," wrote Franklin D. Roosevelt the day before his death, "that, if civilisation is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace". This ability, like charity, begins at home. In America as here, child welfare centres, clinics, hospitals, schools, etc., are well-established institutions, but community organisation for social welfare—or helping people to act effectively for the common good—is a comparatively new development and forms the subject of the book. The writer, who speaks with the authority of 25 years' practical experience, describes in graphic detail the growth in the U.S.A and present scope of the movement. The book makes a valuable contribution to the study of vital problems, of education for citizenship in a modern democracy.

B. D.

I WAS ONE OF THE UNEMPLOYED By Max Cohen (Gollancz 7/6)

Unemployment treated autobiographically. A vivid account of the days and nights, the problems and the hunger, of a young workless carpenter in the early 1930's. Wordy and diffuse, in need of stringent editing, this book should be read by all who administer the social services; they will know then what it is like to be the other side of the counter. But Mr Cohen should cut his next book down more ruthlessly.

J. S. C.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICES Edited by A. F. C. Bourdillon (Methuen 16/-)

A report of the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey, this book gives a careful review of selected voluntary agencies concerned with the welfare of those persons not sufficiently covered by statutory bodies. Chapters on provision for the deaf and for the blind respectively present material not usually accessible, and add solidity to a series of papers which, though individually interesting, suffer a little both in content and co-ordination from the rigid selectivity which has governed their presentation.

J. S. C.

A CHARTER FOR HEALTH By a Committee of the British Medical Association (Allen & Unwin 6/-)

This book contains material which the Fabian Society might have published any time in the last twenty-five years. That is to say it is an excellent factual study of all the environmental and social factors in the capitalist system that make good health impossible for the majority of people. It shows clearly in 90 pages that our present system has failed to provide homes, food, shelters education: then in typical B M A style dodges the decision and declares "private enterprise can improve the environment of daily life, can provide good houses and nutritious food". A book, therefore, to read for its facts and figures and as a warning how wrong can be the conclusions of those who are still anchored to the past.

D. S. M.

GOVERNMENT IN PUBLIC HEALTH By Henry S. Mustard, M D (Commonwealth Fund, New York \$1.50)

This is the second of a series planned by the New York Academy of Medicine on medico-social subjects, under the heading Medicine and the Changing Order. Dr Mustard thinks clearly and has an exceptional gift for definition, and lays down some valuable principles in precise and attractive form. Though much of the book is devoted to the history of public health development in the United States, the long struggle between science and prejudice and between State and Federal legislative power, has obvious parallels in this country. England has led the world in public health and our huge adventure into a comprehensive health service may encourage Dr Mustard, who knows that he treads a thorny path in his own country, to write a sequel on a broader basis.

B. C. T.

HOUSING ESTATES By Rosamond Jevons and John Madge (Published for the University of Bristol by J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., Bristol 7/6)

A thoughtful and factual analysis of Bristol Municipal Housing Estates. Its conclusion may not meet with one's entire agreement, but the facts and the figures are important and stimulating. The case for a good deal more than houses on an estate is well established. A book for those whose interests lie in the direction of social experiments in Municipal and Civil life. It will help to put an end to the unfortunate dumping of large numbers of people in the outer suburbs, and just "hoping for the best"

E. J. G.

GREEN BELT CITIES By F. J. Osborn (Faber 12/6)

This constructive study is concerned with the size of towns and their place in the countryside. It comes at an opportune moment. For town-planning is a new, or rather, a forgotten art. Something like one-third of our population, the writer reminds us, live in the $4\frac{1}{2}$ million houses built since 1920. But, owing to the entire absence of social awareness or belief that these matters can come under any human control, we have allowed both private enterprise and public money and energy to continue and accelerate one of the most destructive tendencies of the industrial revolution—the massing of our people in excessively large and perniciously congested cities. One of the main purposes of the book is to show that the building of new towns, or green belt cities, does not evade the problem of making the best of existing towns, but is indispensable to the solution of that problem.

B. D.

HOMES, TOWNS AND COUNTRYSIDE Edited by Gilbert and Elizabeth Glan McAllister (Batsford 18/-)

Essays by eleven experts—including Sir Patrick Abercrombie, Sir Daniel Hall and Professor Dudley Stamp—and hundreds of excellent photographs. A sensible and attractive primer. F. W. B.

REINSTATEMENT IN CIVIL EMPLOYMENT By Hector Hughes (Staples Press 2/6)

This is a useful summary in popular language of the provisions for reinstatement in pre-service employment provided by the Act of 1944. The text of the Act and the regulations made thereunder is in full.

It is perhaps unfortunate that this pamphlet was not published rather earlier. R. S. W. P.

YOU AND DEMOBILISATION By Robert S. W. Pollard and Stephen Murray (Blandford Press 80 pp 2/6)

This booklet contains a summary of the white papers on demobilisation from military service and civil work, of the Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act, 1944, with the relevant forms, a statement of the government facilities for resettlement and training and setting up in business, an outline of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944, and notes about rehabilitation, information on war gratuities and release benefits and a long section on pensions for disablement and death of members of the forces.

THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE TODAY AND TOMORROW (Gollancz for the Haldane Society, 1946 6d)

This is one of the invaluable reports of the Haldane Society and is likely to lead to reform of the magisterial system. It is of particular importance because of the Royal Commission on Magistrates which was set up in July, 1946. The Haldane Society strongly plead for the dissociation of the appointment of J P's from politics. This may be controversial in some sections of the party but it should be obvious to any dispassionate observer that courts which can sometimes impose sentences of up to twelve months' imprisonment should only be composed of people who are appointed because they are particularly suitable for the job. The Society recommends the continuance of a lay magistracy subject to certain reforms. R. S. W. P.

THE ARTS ENQUIRY. THE VISUAL ARTS A Survey (P.E.P. 10/6)

This enlightening and useful volume, sponsored by the Dartington Hall Trustees, will be invaluable for reference. It gives a clear picture of the problems facing the artists themselves and the Governing Bodies of Museums and Art Galleries. It is interesting to notice that a number of the proposals made have already been carried out by the Arts Council and that other of their recommendations are in process of being put into operation.

I should like to emphasise what the authors themselves state in the preface, that 'The Visual Arts Group believes that its proposals will be worthy of official and public recognition.'

B. A. G.

INTERNATIONAL AND COLONIAL

VICTORS, BEWARE By Salvador de Madariaga (Jonathan Cape 10/6 net)

This is indeed a timely book. The author plays the part of Socrates' gad-fly in trying to sting people into mental activity. Approaching Home and World affairs from his well-known liberal standpoint, he probes deeply into the meaning of democracy, the claims of individual and community, fallacies about aggression and neutrality, the attitude of the U.S.S.R. and how to meet it. Many, it may be said, are doing this; but there is a penetrating and arresting quality in "Victors, Beware" which, whether we like the views or not, compels our attention to vital matters. It should be added that the common view that the United Nations Organisation is a great improvement upon the League of Nations receives no support here; for this discussion alone the book should be studied. R. S. W. P.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT By K. C. Wheare (Issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs Publishers: OUP 15/-)

A very explicit account of what Federal Government really is, with the various examples, their differences and developments. A most useful book for the student of international affairs, well written, clear and concise.

E. J. G.

FROM GENEVA TO SAN FRANCISCO. AN ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF THE NEW ORDER By Norman Bentwich (London, Gollancz, 1946 111 pp 4/6)

A brief history of the main developments of the League of Nations and of the steps preparatory to the establishment of the United Nations is followed by a useful description of the main international functional organisations (ILO, FAO, UNRRA, Fund and Bank, PICA O, UNESCO), of the United Nations Charter (the text of which is reproduced in full) and of the International Court of Justice. A special chapter is devoted to the colonial question and Trusteeship Council. A useful work of reference and guide.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL: AN INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION By Leroy D. Stinebower (New York, Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace 39 pp 10c)

A most valuable guide, prepared since the Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to the provisions of the Charter concerning the Economic and Social Council, the various commissions it has set up and their terms of reference, the arrangements contemplated for relationship between the United Nations and the various specialised agencies, and the ad hoc special committees of the Council. It is greatly to be desired that the publications of the Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace be made easily accessible to the British public, thus avoiding overlapping in the issue of factual material on the United Nations.

CZECHOSLOVAK DEMOCRACY AT WORK By Edward Taborsky (Allen & Unwin 8/6)

Czech democracy of yesterday described in terms of the 1920 constitution. As such, interesting for the constitutional jurist and the politician, but of little relevance to the general reader anxious to form a picture of Central European affairs today, except as a warning of what can happen in a many-Party State in which at least five parties are needed to form a "majority".

W. J.

TOWARDS A FREE EUROPE By J. H. Harley (Allen & Unwin 7/6)

The author states his views on various aspects of Europe, past, present and future, in 133 pages. His notion of a free Europe is strongly coloured by a dislike of minorities, racial and religious. After blaming the Minority Treaties for having encouraged "all sorts of separatist and dissident racial tendencies" he even deplores the non-assimilation of the Jews in Poland. But as a Scot he makes a good case for the Scottish permeation of England. His views seem contradictory.

W. J.

SOVIET RUSSIA—AN INTRODUCTION By Kathleen Gibberd (Chatham House 5/- 2nd Edition)

This revised edition of the pamphlet originally published early in 1942 contains a new chapter on Soviet foreign relations both before the war and during the war. As remarked in the preface, the new edition bears the mark of the mass of fresh information which has been accumulated about the USSR during the last four years. The figure of Communist Party membership, on page 55, should be altered from 2½ million to something more like 5½ million. In general the pamphlet can be recommended as an excellent introduction.

W. W. M.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE AND THE BALTIC SEA By H. E. Ronimois
(Boreas Publishing Co. 2/9)

This is a brief summary, packed with facts and figures, of an intended longer study of the Economic Relations of Eastern Europe. It aims to show that the steady decline of both the turnover and the share of Baltic trade in Russian trade, which began in 1801, must be considered under the Soviet regime as inevitable from the long-term tendencies of Soviet economic planning.

W. W. M.

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN THE FAR EAST—1895-1914 By
Edward H. Zabriskie (University of Pennsylvania \$3.50)

America continues to produce the most reliable and most documented studies of Russian affairs—in advance of all but a very few publications in this country. This study is based on State Department and official Russian documents, State Department correspondence and records for the period 1906-14 having been first opened to accredited students in 1938. The bibliography is extensive and this book is likely to be the classic work on its subject.

W. W. M.

A HISTORY OF BRITISH TARIFFS—1923-42 By Derick Abe (Heath
Cranton, Ltd 9/6)

A useful account of Britain's return to Protection. It is written from the point of view of the doctrinaire Free Trader who considers dreams of a planned economy "extremist". It does not therefore face up to the rôle of tariffs in a semi-socialist economy where many imports are handled by government monopolies run by bodies as various as the Cotton Control, the Ministry of Food and the proposed Iron and Steel Corporation.

J. P.

THE CASE FOR GREECE By Athenian (Hollis & Carter 2/6)

The object of this short book is to state the recent history of the internal political problems of Greece so as to enable a true picture to be gained of the present difficulties in that country. The bias is pro-Monarchist, anti-E A M. The fair-minded would wish to read a great deal more, and of differing viewpoints, before deciding where their sympathies should lie.

D. W.

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY By Alvin H. Hansen
(Allen and Unwin 8/6)

For the American reader Mr Hansen has produced a most instructive, informative and convincing argument against economic isolationism. To the English reader its interest will lie mainly in the revelation that such a work was necessary today. The author's discussion of Bretton Woods is particularly apposite to the impending discussions on world trade, and his contention that the reduction of tariffs is inadequate unless accompanied by a universal policy of expansion for full employment will meet a ready response on this side of the Atlantic. His warnings on the dangers of deflation are well reasoned and it is hoped will be heeded by his countrymen should an American slump threaten. His optimism as regards American economic international policy it is difficult to share.

E. D.

CO-OPERATIVE LIVING IN PALESTINE By Henrick F. Infield, Executive Director, Rural Settlement Institute, USA (Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd. 145 pp 7/6)

This is a book which uses the experience of the Kvutzot (Collective settlements) in Palestine for a very interesting sociological and economic investigation. It is no exaggeration to say that this is one of the most challenging books in present-day co-operative literature. "Sociology"—writes Mr Infield in his introduction—"is a young science, which explores the perplexing mass of inter-personal relationships". This is why he considers "co-operative living" as a highest expression of co-operative organisation, as a form of "comprehensive co-operation based upon common interests". Mr Infield considers other forms of co-operation, as partial or "segmental" co-operation in which members associate to satisfy *like* interests for the better attainment of specific economic needs. The book deals with a multitude of interesting human social and economic problems and can be heartily recommended to every student of the labour and co-operative movements.

N. B.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PALESTINE By Silas S. Perry (Alliance Press Group 1/-)

The author states a straightforward case that Britain should assist in forming a Jewish National Home in Palestine. He sees and stresses that the Palestinian question must be seen against the background of European anti-Semitism. He tends, however, to over-simplify the Arab problem, and is silent about the significance of oil pipe-lines and naval bases.

L. P.

A FOOD PLAN FOR INDIA A Chatham House Report (72 pp 3/6)

This book represents a practical plan to deal with famine. It does not touch upon the basic social and economic causes of famine. It is a technological and not a political piece of writing. Within those limits, the research and detailed recommendations it embodies must be of great value, in the first place to the Indian administrator, and secondly to the Indian specialist here. It poses the question of how to increase the yield per acre of the already cultivated land, and with great thoroughness the book probes into the problems of manures and fertilisers, water supply and drainage, quality of seeds, control of malaria and other parasitic diseases which sap the energies of man.

E. M.

LABOUR IN THE PHILIPPINE ECONOMY By Kenneth K. Kurihara (Stanford University Press 12/-)

This book is a straightforward, well documented study of the working conditions and political development of a class of peasant-labourers emerging without exceptional struggle from a system of mildly oppressive paternalism into class-consciousness and protective organisation. Completed in November, 1945, it is unable to interpret the results of the recent American activity in the Philippines; but the information contained suggests stimulatory analogy and comparison with problems in some British colonies.

D. H.

WHITE SAHIBS OF INDIA By Reginald Reynolds (Socialist Book Centre Ltd., 10/6)

This is a revised edition of the book of the same title which was published originally in 1937, with parts brought up to date, but with the mass of supplementary notes and documentary evidence deleted, because of paper shortage. As a reliable **factual**, hard-hitting survey of British misrule in India, this book remains one of the classics of empire history, though many will feel disinclined to share the political judgment of the author on various counts. Its re-appearance is most welcome.

E. M.

